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MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

IN the moral story which the amiable Xenophon has left us on the education of a Prince, (a perfect model of beautiful simplicity in writing, and a practical lesson for any Prince in Europe of the present day, who has not forgotten his Greek,) Araspes makes use of the following expression, in addressing his Sovereign, "I am perfectly conscious, O Cyrus, that I have within the two souls. One and the same soul could never at once love both the good and the bad, as I do; still pursuing what is honourable, still caught by what is base; at the same instant, making my choice, and repenting of it when made. Assuredly, I have two souls. When one has the command, Araspes is sunk into dishonour; but virtue and glory await me, when my better soul, and you, O Cyrus! maintain the ascendancy." Whatever profound or shallow people may think of the philosophy of Araspes respecting the individual man, we should be tempted to place some reliance in his doctrine, with regard to the *public body*.

Society, at this instant, seems actuated by two souls, different in their natures, discordant in their views, and opposite in their destinations. The one soul wishes to conciliate into one christianity, to comprehend into one community, to consolidate into one people: the other spirit wishes to repel and keep separate, to estrange and alienate the different portions of society into the jealousy of sects, and the selfishness of crafts. The one soul endeavours, with zeal and activity, to instruct and enlighten the people of every condition and class of life, from the mountain-top to the bottom of the mine, fully convinced, that

ignorance is the demon which tempts to crime, that the distribution of knowledge creates *virtue*, in its consequences, as well as *power*; and that all the people being likely soon to obtain a just portion of political power, they should, without loss of time, be furnished with that knowledge which must lead them to make the best use of it. The other spirit dreads the diffusion of light, because it is a partial illumination, that, in reality, keeps the rest of society *in the dark*, and thus continues the pretence for the exclusive monopoly of power, which, in its impartial distribution, would lose the name of *power*, and *glory* in being called *JUSTICE*. The one spirit, in the silence of the heart, beseeches the God of Universal Nature to send down peace upon earth, and good will among men; the other spirit, in the solemnity of public devotion, and in the name of the meek and merciful Saviour, prays to the Lord of *Hosts*, that is, creatures of the same kind drawn up against each other in order of battle, that he will fight on their side, *sanctify* their cause by *success*, and declare himself the partisan of a set of political opinions. The one spirit, occupied or amused with war, using it as a trade, a parade, or a rhodomontade, may be said to have migrated from these countries, and the care of them, and to dwell wholly in the Peninsula. Indeed, the pompous Spanish tongue appears much better suited, than the plain prosing English, to the utterance of that gratitude which blesses the omnipotent bounty of Heaven, for a General "above all human praise," and beyond the expression of human language!

It is this exaggerated tone in con-

versation and composition, used by high and influential authorities, which exhilarates the people to intoxication, as by the use of foreign "liqueurs," and has turned the manners and morals of the English from their constitutional sobriety of behaviour and demeanour, into a military direction, while the war-horse most unfortunately becomes a hobby-horse both to the great and to the vulgar. There is, indeed, we trust, a better spirit in society, which still looks forward with the longing of the heart, to the means of internal melioration and reform, from the pursuit of which the traders in war would most willingly divert the purblind public; a better spirit, which would fondly commemorate such heroes of humanity as Howard and Jenner, and which considers as the most sublime spectacle upon this earth, not the Emperor of the French reviewing his thousands and tens of thousands in the grand square of the L'Èuvre, but the Emperor of China, in sober pomp and calm dignity, taking hold of the plough, and saying to the assembled millions, "My children, FOLLOW ME. Your names shall be inscribed in the Book of Merit, the register of immortality, as the conquerors of the earth, who are its best cultivators. This is your field of battle, and these your weapons of war."

A closer view of society, particularly in this island, will, at the present period, represent it as divided into four parties, more or less strikingly discriminated. Of these the *Orange* party would willingly hold itself forth abroad, if not at home, as the first in rank, in number, in permanent influence, and in political consideration. The truth is, that this large excrescence, or rather monstrous *wen* on the face of the constitution, has hidden and disfigured its natural appearance, has

absorbed through its numerous and deep-seated roots much of the vital juices and nutriment destined for the rest of the system, and now is verging from an inert and unseemly mass, into a state of malignant exasperation. This party assumes, or rather usurps, the constitutional authorities, and publicly declares every opposition to its decrees to be "sedition." It shall soon be, we suppose, a misprision of treason to question the mandates of those monopolists of political power, under the masque of exclusive loyalty.

This fierce and sanguinary faction avows an inveterate enmity to the great mass of the people, and in reality propagates the principles of interminable hostility between citizens of the same country to the latest posterity. But at present it acts under a *panic*, and it is the *fear* of being discomfited in the next session of Parliament, and that alone, which makes them, in many late instances, so outrageous in their conduct, hoping that this may produce that violent re-action, and breach of the peace, which will justify a farther delay in the final emancipation of our Catholic countrymen. In this hope they will, we trust, be disappointed, by the good behaviour of all true lovers of liberty, and friends to peace and concord, whose stronghold is obedience to the laws, and deference to the lowest as much as to the highest authorities constituted by the laws. It is thus, and thus only, that the people of Ireland will triumph over those bitter enemies who wish once again to instigate them to outrage and rebellion. BEWARE! BEWARE!

There is another description of people in this country which forms a variety of the same character with the last, a different shade of the same colour, and may be called the *Lemon* party. It rises from the same

hot-bed of politics, and spreads through both the landed and commercial aristocracy, not so decidedly hostile to the Catholic claims, as dreading, on its own account, all change or innovation. It lies in the back ground, but gives the former party much of its presumptuous tone by secret encouragement, and indirect support.

To these parties are opposed the party which dignifies its political conduct, or rather its indolence and inertness, by the name of moderation. Whether they may be called prone or supine, they have hitherto, as we think, done little service to the cause of their country as far as it relates to Catholic emancipation, and it is only of distinctions among the Protestant community, of which we are at present speaking. This *Supine* party is, however, gradually awaking from its apathy. Circumstances are every day occurring which imperatively demand a greater decision in opinion and determination in conduct. There is much spirit in one portion of the Protestant people that cannot be brought into mass, there is much massy body in the other place, that cannot be refined into spirit. But the light penetrates, and the heat is animating this dead weight into that activity which the constitution sanctions and the laws warrant.

The friends of civil and religious liberty, and the advocates of peace and concord form a *fourth* party, which joins zeal with activity, and wishes to re-instate their Catholic countrymen on the same platform of privilege with the Protestant community, as the only way left to realize the union of these countries, and to consolidate the strength of the empire. This party advocates the fundamental franchises of the whole people, and in doing so thinks it acts according to the spirit of the

glorious revolution and the principles of the great William. The deprivations of millions from the rights of citizenship, must ever be accounted most abhorrent from the principles of the revolution, and so far from being a fundamental constitutional law, is to be referred solely to the circumstances of the times, and must change along with the change of those circumstances. This party has no secret to conceal, no mysterious bond of association; it acts openly and in the light of day; it challenges examination from its most inveterate enemies, and nothing will wound these enemies more deeply, than finding themselves unable, by every sort of instigation, to provoke the lovers of liberty and peace into the least infraction of the laws. This party, in short, is confident of success by proceeding as they have done with zealous perseverance, united as they are, to the great mass of the population of Ireland, by a sympathy of affection and a mutual good understanding of their common interests.

We must always repeat that religious difference is now made what it has always been made in this most unhappy land, a mere pretext, while the real purpose is to retain a perpetual pre-eminence in political power, to give certain classes of the community the use and enjoyment of the profitable and honourable attributes of government, and thus to make a part greater than the whole.*

* In potestate civili haec tria ut concurant, necesse est. Primo, pacum omnium inter se quo convenit, ut in unum populum, communis regendam consilio, coalescent. Deinceps sequitur populi decretum imperii formam, modumque constitutus rectoresque designans. Tertio denique pacum inter rectores designatos et populum, hunc ad obsequium, illos ad imperii sibi commissi, in communem utilitatem, administrationem fidelem astringens. See

Power, power alone, is the concealed sprung of this long civil contention, nor is it possible from human nature, that the agitation in society, *arising solely from the unequal distribution of power*, can ever terminate, until, by its equal distribution, power becomes annihilated, and, like a comet falling into the sun, loses itself and all its terrors in the effulgence of justice. There is a constitution of British government which depends entirely upon an equal distribution of power among its several branches, and this is maintained by a just equilibrium and by reciprocal checks. But there is (and this is designedly slurred over,) a constitution in society itself, the very existence, or at least the enjoyment of which, depends upon the equal balance or distribution of power, of a just compensation in rights received for duties imposed, without which society will ever continue a chaos rather than a community. It is this unequal distribution of power which makes a country the subject of continual agitations and frightful successions, "outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild." Justice, like the spirit of God, must move upon this anarchy; falsely called society, infuse vital virtue and vital warmth, and not "let fierce extremes, contiguous, distemper the whole political frame."

In fact, it is the unjust retention of political power in one class of the community which keeps up and ever will keep up the spirit of party, and a party spirit is utterly incompatible with the social union. Power cre-

Dr. Hutcheson's Philosophy, an account of whom is given in this Magazine, and who, in this quotation, defines the original compact, or understood conditions of entering into society; the actual British constitution, and finally, the reciprocal duties and rights of both the governors and governed.

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ates and fosters all the evil passions which disturb society, and in reality makes the principles of conquest, the stationary rule of government, instead of the unhappy necessity of the moment. There never will be peace or good order in this island until there be an equal distribution of political power; and in truth the means of preserving the public peace, put into practice by several champions of the Orange system, never fails to remind us of that ingenious method lately described in the public prints, of opening a barrel partly filled with gunpowder, by penetrating it with a red-hot poker. Orangism is to be considered as a red-hot poker brandished in a magazine of combustibles. Its processions are in the first instance aggressive; provoking to disturbance, insulting to the population of the country, and arrogantly assumptive of the prerogatives of government.

Were there to be made at present through the streets of Cadiz a procession of the Catholic Inquisition, happily now declared illegal by the decree of the Cortes, as it was long ago reprobated by the voice of nature and the best feelings of humanity; were this body of superiors and familiars to parade with all the insignia of the holy office, and all the apparatus of persecution, to revive horrid remembrances, and appal the whole people with the pageant of flames and blood, this would assuredly excite the marks of popular indignation, and perhaps would call forth the prompt interference of a paternal and protective administration of government. Now we consider the Orange system as best entitled to the name of the PROTESTANT INQUISITION. It bears, in our minds, exactly the same relation to the British constitution, as the Holy Office does, (no, thank God, and the

spirit of Freedom,) did bear to the christian religion. Its extravagant and mad demeanour, its fierce gestures, and savage purposes are covered, and, for the most part, concealed under the varnish of affected loyalty, and devoted attachment, but, notwithstanding the saintly show, we discover the borrowed visage, "deep malice to conceal couched with revenge," and often does its real spirit break forth in spite of all restraint. Then it assumes all the attributes of government; prescribes to all the people a constitution founded and perpetuated on the principles of persecution; it fastens together once more every link of the penal code; it shakes the whole chain in the eyes of the multitude; and its auto da fe, its ACT OF FAITH, is the burning of the articles of Limerick. It goes in the morning to listen to the word of God, and concludes in the evening with the work of man-slaughter. It insults equally the law and the gospel. It is, we repeat it, nothing more nor less than a PROTESTANT INQUISITION; and may God in his infinite mercy dispose the first constituted authorities of the land to vindicate the British constitution, to rescue the British government, and to maintain the social union, by putting down, once and for ever, this ferocious faction which braves the legislature, perverts religion, and persecutes the people.

It has been triumphantly said by the intolerant party, that the present is a struggle between the loyal and the disloyal. For once we agree, in stating an abstract question, while we totally differ in the application of facts. Who are the loyal, and what are the constituent principles of loyalty? We answer, in the words of Bentham, "It is the motto of a good citizen, *to obey punctually, and to censure freely!*" This is a

good definition of rational well-founded loyalty, which renders obedience to the laws, while they exist, but seeks, by open remonstrance and honourable exertions, to procure amendments in them. This loyalty totally differs from the fashionable cant of the exclusive loyalty of the present day, when the high boasters of it for interested purposes cringe servilely to the powers at the head of the executive government, but who, judging them from their past actions, and their being hitherto undeviatingly actuated by motives of self interest, we may justly suppose, like Vicars of Bray, would be ready to transfer their accommodating loyalty to any, or every change of government, which had the means of purchasing their venal support. Men, loyal on rational motives, on the contrary embrace a wider scope. They are not worshippers of power, and consider government made for the good of the people, and not the people for the emolument of the governors; while, in the view of the pretended loyal, the executive servants of the people stand foremost, or rather solely in their estimation, and the people, for whose benefit government, however vested, is only a trust, are scarcely thought deserving of their consideration.

Such is the vaunted exclusive loyalty of many of the upper classes of society. There are other Knights Errant of loyalty. Men, who, in inferior stations, closely copy their leaders, and look, in officious servility, for their rewards from those a little elevated above them, and thus, through all the gradations, like links of a debasing chain, there are dependents of dependents, of dependents, in descending succession. Another class remains to be noticed, the inferior tools which are put into motion to do all the dirty jobs, in which others,

who wish to preserve some little appearance of character, are ashamed to be seen. These are ripe for every mischief, and depend on impunity for their crimes on their supposed all-powerful protectors. But sometimes they are mistaken. They go too far, and their supporters are either unable to protect them, or leave them to their fate, when it may risk character too far to support them. Few neighbourhoods are without their Orange bravoos, men bold in crimes from imaginary security, and there does not exist a more pestilential character, than one of these men in the full plenitude of his career. This is the loyalty now so much in vogue, and which is cried up as the support of the state. It is selfish, outrageous, and cruel. If their power extended, so far these men would cause *torrents of blood* to flow in our afflicted land, in support of their misapplied power to abuse their neighbours.

The Grand Orange Lodge of the County of Antrim have published their ban against their opponents. They reprobate "the unmerited calumnies and vulgar abuse with which the columns of certain public prints are frequently filled." We suppose the pages of the Belfast Magazine are intended to be designated. We would have thanked them, if they had named us more explicitly. Their censure is our highest praise, and on a late occasion of an attempt to publish a rival Magazine, the enmity of Orangemen most materially contributed to give greater stability to our undertaking, and procured for us a large addition of subscribers. But although we proudly plead guilty to a charge of determined opposition to the proceedings and principles of Orangemen, because we are not afraid to avow our love of country, and our firm attachment to "internal peace and concord," we deny, and refer

to our readers for an impartial verdict, that our pages have been polluted by "vulgar abuse." Our opposition is resolutely determinate, but we trust decorous.

In their manifesto they evade the chief matter at issue between us. In our last number, we asked them to lay aside their masked battery of secrecy, and give us an opportunity of trying the legality of the secret oath of Orangemen. On this subject they are silent, and appeal to the executive government for inquiry, and rigid investigation into their principles. Consistently with our avowed opinions, we also appeal, and considering the legislature as holding a correctional authority over the executive government, which we again repeat is only a trust for the welfare of the people, we join in petitions to both houses of Parliament, against the proceedings of Orangemen. The Grand Lodge of the County of Antrim may pronounce such conduct to be "seditious," but we trust the petitioners know too well their rights and their duties to be deterred by such language.*

* William Todd Jones, in his own characteristic manner, has, in the Dublin Evening Post, thus humorously remarked on the assumed self sufficiency of this new power in the state.

"Mr. Benjamin Neely, G.S., in the name of THE GRAND LODGE OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM, held in Antrim upon the ninth of August, acquaints us, that 'that Lodge has beheld without surprise the utmost efforts of sedition uniformly directed against it'; by which we also learn, that the representatives of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, in the United Parliament assembled, who unanimously resolved, THAT THE ASSOCIATIONS OF ORANGEMEN WERE ILLEGAL, are a seditious body assembled at Westminster, using their 'utmost efforts of sedition' against the Protestant succession, and the Imperial house of Hanover, who are now concentrated, barricadoed and protected within

The petition announced in our last number is advancing. It is from "Protestants and Catholics, the friends of civil and religious liberty, and of intercal peace and concord." The petitions to the House of Lords, and to the House of Commons, have been engrossed, and signatures have been already procured in Belfast,* Lisburn, and other places, and a correspondence has been opened to procure co-operation through the other parts of Ireland. A commencement has been made; present success may not attend, but the foundation is laid. The abolition of the slave-trade triumphed after years of opposition; and the cause of Catholic Emancipation has obtained the high ground on which it now stands, through toilsome perseverance, in spite of repeated defeats. What is great and good is seldom procured at once, or without the

the brandy-shop of 'Praise God Barebones,' in the redoubt city of Antrim."

It is necessary to correct a mistatement. The House of Commons did not formally come to any resolutions against the legality of Orange Societies. The members only declared their sentiments, but the resolutions were withdrawn, because they were said to be unnecessary, as disapprobation, nearly unanimous, was so strongly expressed against these societies. We had hitherto in the constitution the three estates of King, Lords, and Commons. A fourth is now attempted to be added, in the high, mighty, and puissant Orangemen!

* The fierce spirit of bigotry and intolerance often defeats its purposes. A most virulent hand-bill, addressed to the Protestant Inhabitants of Belfast, conceived in all the fanaticism and violence of the darkest ages of persecution, and preaching discord in the name of the writer's "peaceable and holy religion," what a contradiction! has been distributed, and has proved the means of inducing some who before wavered to add their signatures to the petitions. So may every effort of malignity and intolerance tend to the furtherance of the cause to which they are opposed!

efforts of industry long continued and well directed. If the friends to the present measure were readily to yield to discouragements, their progress might be speedily stopped, but as men having entire confidence in the goodness of their cause, which is closely identified with the principles of sound policy, and immutable justice, some are determined to persevere through all difficulties, and pledge themselves on the altar of their country, never to relinquish the prosecution of the righteous measure. The petitions will carry the words of truth and justice into both Houses of Parliament, and through them considerations respecting the alarming state of Ireland will be brought before the British public, with which many are at present imperfectly acquainted. The atrocities of the system of Orangism will thus be proclaimed through the Empire, and such a relation cannot fail to be productive of much good. The first step towards obtaining a redress of grievances, is fully to expose them to public view.

It must be admitted, that great apathy exists, and that it is difficult to arouse a firm and decisive spirit. The Pituit system of intimidation and cajolery laid public spirit prostrate, and many have remained so long in the prope attitude of self degraded slaves, as to appear to have almost totally lost the faculty of standing erect, and having acquired a habit of stooping, or bowing, they have nearly forgotten the bold mien of freemen. Besides, the dread of Orangemen is so great, that many friendly to the principles of the petitions are afraid to affix their names, lest they should suffer in their business, or their persons, from a faction long accustomed to domineer, and to depend on protection for their riotous proceedings. For while special commissions have repeatedly been sent to try rioters in the

South, outrages of Orangemen in the North, not less flagitious, have not hitherto been noticed in the same manner. The strong fact, of general intimidation, while it lessens the number of signatures, most forcibly demonstrates the necessity of putting forward these petitions.

The petitioners ask for no new penal enactments, but only that the laws should be impartially administered. Let us view both sides of the case. In the South the people through ignorance are led into acts of violence in attempting to rectify themselves. They feel their grievances, and take mistaken means to redress them. Their nightly outrages alarm their wealthy neighbours, and a sympathy of men of the same class extends through the nation. The terrors of the rich resound through the South, and the echo is heard in the North. The Orange system of violence and oppression is chiefly directed against Catholics, who happen in the northern counties to be mostly persons in the poorer ranks of life, and against the few who generously step forward to make a common cause with them in their sufferings. How slowly does sympathy find its way to selfish bosoms in the latter case! Many whose feelings are tremblingly alive to the excesses of the peasantry in the South, can, with the greatest indifference and cold bloodedness hear the tale of Orange outrages. Yet the one violation of justice is not greater than the other. The sole difference lies in these people of *moderate feelings*, fancying that in the cause of the poor against the rich, their turn through some fatality may arrive, while secure in their selfish apathy, they do not fear their loyalty will be suspected, as they take good care to keep on fair terms with the Orange violators of the law.

Moderation is the **cant of the day.** We hear many lectures read in favour of it, by people, who having no decided political sentiment, are unwilling to have their quiet disturbed, by the bold language necessary to tell of the wrongs of the oppressor. They place all happiness in that immobility of soul, which can coolly hear of the sufferings of others, but they would be greatly disturbed by the least interruption to their own pursuits, whether of business, or even of amusement. If such persons are sincere in their love of moderation, let them preach to the real agitators of the country, to the Orange faction, who by their own excesses break the peace of the country, and by their example, and producing a dangerous re-action, do all in their power to incite the unwary and incautious on the other side to violate the laws, and who are ready to rejoice in these violations, that they themselves may have a better pretext to extend their excesses, and to let slip their angry passions, as "dogs of war," on their opponents. Let the Moderés reserve the sage lectures for this part of the community. Their soporific draughts might help perhaps to allay the too high excitability of the Orange fever, but they are totally unsuitable to press on minds already enfeebled by apathy, and whose public spirit requires to be excited, and not repressed. In the present crisis, all who love their country, all who are alive to the best feelings of our nature, to generosity and openness of heart, are called upon to succour the distressed; instead of taking part either openly or covertly with a dominant faction, let them discover a vigour to coaciliate rather than provoke men who have wrongs to complain of. Let them not say to those who have been improperly degraded, "you must ask as suppliants,

and not displease our gentle ears by the roughness of your complaints." Instead of blaming Catholics for the firmness of their demands, and their zealous exertions to insure success, or at least to merit it, let these preachers of moderation join heartily in asking for their brethren a community of rights, and in warning Orangemen in a language not to be misunderstood against their vexatious proceedings, and above all against their irritating processions*. Thus might the Catholic Board be put down in a way much more conducive to tranquillity, than by the threats of legal proceedings to repress them.

* To show the dangerous consequences attendant on the hostile proceedings of Orangemen, so irritating to the feelings of a large portion of the community, the writer of this note can state some things which occurred to himself. He happened to be in the county of Wexford in the summer of 1798, during the period when that county was under the power of the insurgents, and he never received the smallest personal injury, or except in one or two slight instances, any treatment which could bear the name of incivility. He can by no means defend the conduct of any of the parties concerned in that business, either before, during, or after the insurrection, on the part of the magistrates, military, or people, and he never could ascertain to his satisfaction, on which side the balance of the excess of cruelty lay. One thing he knows by experience, that he always passed uninjured merely on his assertion that he never had been an Orangeman. He was well known to differ in opinion on religious subjects, from those who questioned him, while he was three times a prisoner on Vinegar-Hill, as well as at other times, when he freely passed and re-passed during three weeks unmolested through different parts of the county. Hence he considers himself justified in the supposition, that the popular fury, even at its highest state of madness and exasperation, was not so much directed against a difference on account of religious opinions, as against the hostility and unfriendly treatment they had experienced from Orangemen as a political party.

Many are the excuses used to palliate the not going in the straight forward path of duty. Some ingloriously plead their fears, and the dangers of the loss of self, as reasons for not signing the petitions. In most cases such conduct is basely pusillanimous, but it being at present so common, these people so deficient in civil courage, a virtue of no mean estimation in the moral code, keep each other in countenance. A virtuous man confident in the integrity of his motives and his principles, will venture to make some sacrifices in the support of them; but, alas ! a sordid selfishness seems generally to have absorbed the finer and nobler feelings. Thus many flatter themselves they have in their own peculiar situation, or in some circumstances attendant on their place of residence, an excuse for declining to give an unequivocal support to the cause which their better judgment approves, and under this false reasoning they reconcile themselves to the servility of their conduct. But all who really disapprove of the Orange system, are imperatively called upon by honour, and a proper regard to the respectability of their characters, to contribute their share to give full effect to confirm the dictates of their judgment. It is the duty of every man to do his own duty, without looking to others. Then would success crown the efforts of the friends to internal peace and concord, if each were but honest to himself, and undauntedly performed his duty, by overcoming that dastardly disposition which now so essentially damps public spirit, and retards the public weal.

Yet we may perceive symptoms of a better era approaching. The pages of this Magazine, in the present number, afford examples, in the communications from correspondents,

that the subject is with increased activity engaging public attention. We rejoice that our Magazine serves as a rallying point for collecting the scattered forces of desultory auxiliaries in the good cause, and we hail it as a good omen that we are not left to fight the battle of our country single-handed.

The following extract of a letter from a friend to the writer of this part of the Retrospect, is so excellent, and so appropriate to the subject, that he is tempted to enrich his remarks with the insertion of it " How sincerely do I desire that in the pursuit of this object, you may reanimate something of public spirit in the North of Ireland, in the place of the stupid Anti-jacobin loyalty, whose source and object are the same, personal emolument, and a share in the plunder of the state. However it never is permitted to a *Roman* to despair of the commonweal, and in truth there is now cause of hope. I see the nation awakening. The love of country has ceased to be the scorn and jest of knaves and fools, or the secret and inactive comfort as well as sorrow of the good. Men seek to earn the name of patriot, and public confidence begins to give its rich rewards to the hearts of the honest. We shall have a country again. We shall again see Ireland restored and improved, as so many are resolved to allow no lassitude or disgust to affect their exertions."

On the 13th inst. at the annual visitation of the united diocese of Down and Connor, held in Lisburn, the Bishop, as a vigilant guardian of the state, as well as of the church, gave a political charge, in which he spoke against the claims of the Catholics, whom he represented as not being sufficiently enlightened to be allowed to participate fully in the privileges of the constitution, and censured the ambition of some of

the clergy for having taken a part in favour of their claims. He may thus recommend himself to favour, but it may be permitted to impartial recorders of passing events, to ask, whether there are not among the Catholics, men who stand as high in intellectual attainments, as any among the other classes, and whether there are not among the favoured Orange societies, in all their gradations of rank, those, whose ignorance is as conspicuous to the impartial and accurate observer, as among those whom it is the fashion to stigmatize as the ignorant Catholics*. If the question of emancipation is to be tried by superior improvement, comparing persons of similar rank and station, the balance will not be found as decidedly on one side as may be assumed by many. Some also will think that wearing the fantastical Orange insignia, and walking in a hostile procession, are fully as inconsistent with the propriety of the clerical character, as signing a petition in favour of Catholic emancipation. If the latter, although in direct opposition to present appearances of interest, is *ambition*, we fervently desire the increase of such *ambitious* men, both in the church and elsewhere throughout the land†.

* In the highly spirited resolutions of the county of Kilkenny placed among the documents at page 140, and selected from the mass of resolutions lately passed at Catholic county meetings, on account of their bold and spirited language, the fallacy is well refuted, that the present contest is really about the purity of theological opinions. Religion is only a pretext. The desire to retain a monopoly of political power is the effective cause of opposition to the claims of Catholic Emancipation.

† The following speech from the Rev. Matthew Moore, of Moore's Fort in the county of Tipperary, a clergyman of the church of England, brother-in-law of Baron George, and of Major Pennefather,

Amid this gloom in Ireland, let us briefly notice the progress of liberality in England. Unitarians, or persons who wrote or spoke against the doctrine of the trinity, were formerly exempted from the relief granted by the Toleration Act. Last session a bill passed through both houses of Parliament without the slightest opposition to the principle of the measure, and has since received the royal assent, and become an

at the Catholic Meeting of the county of Tipperary held at Clonmel the 9th inst. affords in relief a contrast to the bigotry and selfishness assumed by some ecclesiastics. It is like a light shining unexpectedly in the dark quarter of the church, which now appears generally less illuminated than other portions of the community.

"Sir,—I have often attempted to attend the Catholic Meetings of this, my beloved county, but my strength failed me. My heart is with you, and with your cause. Oh! it is a good cause, a truly christian cause, it is that of justice, piety, peace, mutual love. My blessings be upon it. As a minister of the gospel I am bound to promote it, to preach its principles, to pray for its success. Sir, *I concur in every sentiment that has been uttered here this day.* Proceed, you are in the right course, your conduct has the full approbation of every honest and independent man, your enemies are of another class; but do not regard them. I have looked around me in life, and I know them. They are mere *bogus*, but *you are men*. Act like men, be firm, advance, and yield not. These have always been my sentiments, they have retarded my advancement, but I repine not, my conscience is safe, and my heart without reproach. No man is free from error. Were I a Bishop, probably I might not be thus honest, dignities dazzle, and power is perplexing; but my duty and my conduct have hitherto, thanks to Almighty God, perfectly accorded together; may they continue so. Sir, my health may never again permit my addressing my respected Catholic friends; infirmities warn me how brief is the course of this life, how vain its desires, how sweet to soar above its passions, and to prepare for a better state. The warning is awful, but

act of the legislature, by which Unitarians are placed on a similar footing with other dissenters. This instance of the progress of liberality is cheering. Let the friends of civil and religious liberty take courage and proceed. The resolutions of the Unitarians will be found at page 133.

At the Assizes at Carrickfergus, the trials of the men for the riot at Belfast on the 12th of last month, the day of the Orange procession, were proceeded on. It had been the intention, according to the intimation given in the last Retrospect, to have supplied an accurate account of these trials, but as a full report of them is now in the press, we forbear, and recommend this account of these highly important trials to the attention of our readers.* David

not formidable to rectitude. And, under its impression, I beg leave to pronounce solemnly my conviction, that CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION IS JUST, RIGHT AND PROPER. It ought to be granted, it must be granted. Seek it, ask it, insist upon it, as you value your country, your children, your freedom; as you love that holy religion which binds us all together by one common bond of christian charity, and is the parent of social and civil virtues.

"Forsake it not, it is my last admonition. The Catholic, who shrinks from this duty, is not an Irishman, or a christian, or a man; he is a traitor, and a vile slave. I would say more, I have much to say, but I grow faint. You have my dying sentiment, and if—"

[Here this admirably benevolent man, who had spoken resting on crutches, and upon whose eloquent accents the enraptured audience hung with breathless delight, showed such symptoms of declining strength, that two gentlemen received him in their arms, and re conducted him to his seat, amidst the sympathies and grateful acclamations of thousands.]

* Trial of the Belfast Orangemen. Report of the Trial of David Morgan, John Carroll, William McMullan, and Matthew Trainor; for the Murder of Andrew McNarry, and Hugh Graham, in Belfast.

Morgan was convicted of manslaughter, for killing Andrew McNarry; William McMullan was found guilty of the same crime for killing Hugh Graham; John Carroll and Matthew Trainor were acquitted of bringing at, and wounding William McLaughlin and another. Hugh McGarrell, Thomas Brogan, Philip Kelly, and Daniel Ferran, were found guilty of an assault on the Orangemen. The two men convicted of manslaughter, and Hugh McGarrell, were sentenced to six months imprisonment, and the three latter to four.

To the verdicts of the juries in these cases we have nothing to object. Perhaps Morgan's crime did not actually come under the legal definition of murder, but from his previous preparations, and his actually giving an assault before any stones were thrown, his was a case of the most aggravated manslaughter, and yet his punishment was not greater than that of one of the men who threw stones, although no one could prove he was materially injured by the stones. "It is an essential point," says Montesquieu, "that there should be a certain proportion in punishments, because it is essential that a great crime should be avoided rather than a smaller, and that which is more pernicious to society, rather than that which is less." It appears strange, that, in passing sentence, no difference should be made in the punishment between thoughtless giddy persons, who hooted and threw stones, which did little mischief, and men who repeatedly

on the evening of the 12th of July last, and for other offences. Also, the Trial of Philip Kelly, Hugh McGarrell, Thomas Brogan, and Daniel Ferran, for a riot in Belfast, on the evening of the same day. From Notes accurately taken during the Trial.—*Belfast printed.*

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fired on the people with an intention to kill, and when such firing was by no means strictly necessary in legitimate self defence. Besides, the original cause of the riot arose in the procession of Orangemen. We cannot conceive that the actors in those irritating processions are *peaceable and unoffending men*. Without attempting to justify the throwers of stones, or vindicating a breach of the law by any side, impartial men will admit, as a palliation, the provocations received by the procession: the insulting yells disturbing the peace of the country, were aggressions of which Orangemen were the first promoters.

It had been the intention, at this Assizes, to try the legality of Orange processions, by an indictment under the White-boy Act, of the 15th and 16th of George III., by mistake in our last number stated as the 16th and 17th of George III., but the witness was afraid to lodge the examinations against one of the most active ringleaders of the procession, who appeared with the insignia, and armed with pistols, "to the terror of his Majesty's subjects." However, the business is not dropped, and the legality of walking in Orange processions will probably yet be an object of legal discussion.

Not only in this instance, but mostly throughout the prosecutions against Orangemen, in every quarter it has been found, that witnesses generally acted under the fears arising from the intimidating influence of this numerous and powerful association, a circumstance which strongly points out the dangers to which the peace of the country is subjected from them. It furnishes awful considerations, which, it is hoped, will be strongly insisted upon, during the discussions in Parliament, to which the petitions will give rise. At present, Orange so-

cieties have all the advantages arising from a formidable organization, and the aid they borrow from the inferior officers of government. The members of this association have the advantage of acting in concert, which, added to their various powerful means of intimidation, give to them a preponderance fatal to the peace and good government of the country. The friends to liberty lose many of the advantages which they might enjoy, if they acted more in concert, and if the animating spirit of freedom were more generally awakened. There is an energy in freedom, which enables to overcome difficulties, that at present is little felt, and actuates but few bosoms, at least in so forcible a manner, as to produce full effects. Let not our language be misunderstood. We neither wish to stir up to acts of violence, nor to encourage secret antagonist associations. We are decidedly friends to peace, and wish only to promote the reformation of abuses, by strictly peaceable means, by measures firm and energetic, but yet which offer violence to none. We belong to the party of the people. In this sense, we glory in being party-men, but we disdain to be led by party motives into the commission of acts contrary to law, or the strict principles of justice. That true patriot Fletcher of Saltown was actuated by a pure principle, when he declared, "that he would willingly sacrifice his life to serve his country, but would not commit an unjust action to save it." We earnestly recommend to the real lovers of their country to pursue only virtuous ends by virtuous means. Let them not give a handle to their adversaries which they are eagerly seeking, and ready to avail themselves of, by transgressing the law in the smallest degree. Let them retain this strong position, by closely "holding to the

law," and instead of opposing violence to violence, and mob to mob, let them reserve their strength unbroken, to make out a good case before Parliament. It is so stale a pretext, that it has quite lost its novelty, and, with the reflecting, all its power of deluding, for the spuriously loyal to call all who expose their corrupt motives, by the nicknames of Jacobins, seditious persons, and Croppies. The man who boasts of his exclusive loyalty, is always to be suspected, and, if it be closely inquired into, he will generally be found either to be a greedy expectant, or one already largely in possession of some share of the public spoil.

On the 18th instant, being the day fixed by adjournment for the inhabitants of the town of Belfast to meet, to consider of the riots on the 12th of last month, a very large number assembled. For an authentic account of the strange transactions which took place at that meeting, our readers are referred to an article at the close of this Retrospect. The following are the Resolutions intended to have been moved at the meeting.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the unfortunate disturbances which took place here on Monday evening the 12th ult. in which two men lost their lives, and several were severely wounded, arose from party spirit, which has been kept alive by an injudicious parade and display of party colours.

"Resolved, That as the happiness and prosperity of a country is best promoted by the unanimity and good conduct of the people, it is the duty of every loyal subject to live on terms of peace and amity with his neighbour.

"Resolved, That we will discourage, by all means in our power, every species of party spirit, which may have a tendency to keep alive animosity amongst the People of this Country.

"Resolved, That we have observed

with much satisfaction, the notice taken of such meetings by the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, and in particular the observation of His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Right Hon. Lord CASTLEREAGH from which we hope this business will be early taken up by Parliament at their next meeting; and such means adopted as will tend to put a stop and final termination to the existence of all illegal assemblies, and by so doing abolish those feuds, heart-burnings, and deadly quarrels, which equally disgrace the Country, its People, the regular Administration of Justice, and Government itself.

"Resolved, That those Resolutions, signed by our Chairman, be communicated to the LORD LIEUTENANT of IRELAND, the Right Hon. Lord CASTLEREAGH, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Right Hon. Lord SIDMOUTH, Secretary of State for the Home Department."

These Resolutions have been since signed by many of the inhabitants, and are to be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Sidmouth.

It is a subject of regret, that every fresh occurrence in the town of Belfast gives cause to regret the want of public spirit. When the meeting was attempted to be dissolved in so unconstitutional a manner, the inhabitants ought to have continued their peaceable meeting, and appointed another Chairman. Such a measure is not without a precedent. Lately, the Common Hall of the city of London placed another in the chair when the Lord Mayor deserted his duty, and refused to put the question on the resolutions moved. But the inhabitants of Belfast have lost their public spirit. Whether the insults they are so frequently receiving, and which are given on the calculation that they have not the spirit to resent them, will arouse what some call the latent spirit of the town, is very doubtful. The people of Belfast must promptly decide the question of their own character. They

may now retrieve their former name of patriotic renown. But they cannot remain as they are. They must either assert their independence, or sink lower in the bathos of servility. If the latter be their ignoble choice, we shall say to them, "If you love wealth better than liberty, the tranquillity of servitude, than the animating contests of freedom, go from us in peace, crouch down and lick the hands which feed you : may your chains sit light upon you, and may posterity forget you were our countrymen."³

The evident intention appears to have been to prevent the holding of the meeting, by any means, even by a riot stirred up, where not the smallest appearance of a riot previously existed. Robert Tennent was hurried off to the town-prison. The end in view was accomplished by the dissolution of the meeting, and then all precipitate hurry was at an end. He was even told that he might go at large, and give bail two or three days hence, when it suited his convenience. But he rejected the proffered clemency, and as a proof that his violation of the law was not considered to be great, two magistrates, one of them law-agent to the Marquis of Donegall, became hissures. It is asserted that many of those concerned in dragging this respectable citizen to prison, had concealed arms, evidently for the purpose of making a riot, and stifling investigation, for on the part of the persons anxious for an inquiry there was neither the intention nor appearance of making a disturbance. In fact, Robert Tennent as he was taking to prison was pre eminent in preserving the peace of the town, by his earnest entreaties to the people irritated at the treatment he was receiving, to preserve tranquillity, and avoid the smallest violation of the laws. The cause in which he

was engaged is too good to require the aid of violence.

Who is Robert Tennent? A man of the highest respectability! A man foremost in every benevolent and patriotic undertaking! A man who will be remembered when those who have been raised by adventitious circumstances into ephemeral distinction, and who seek to climb higher on the prostrate backs of the inhabitants of Belfast, will be forgotten, or remembered only for their errors. Of Robert Tennent we could speak much more highly in praise, but we have the honour to call him our friend, and we shall restrain ourselves lest the language of truth should be mistaken for fulsome panegyric.

Pigmies are pygmies still, tho' perch'd on
Alps,
And pyramids are pyramids in vales.
Each man makes his own stature, builds
himself:
Virtue alone outbuilds the pyramids,
Her monuments shall last when Egypt's fall.

Our readers will see in the account of the meeting the harmless hand-bill, which was made the pretext of so much abuse. By the confession of the Editor of one of the Belfast newspapers, it stands recorded that he declined to insert notice of the meeting in his paper, while the Editor of the other, highly to his honour, disavows having received any application to publish the notice, and declares if he had been asked he would have readily complied. A very partial account was given of the meeting, in one paper notorious for the sycophancy and timidity with which it is conducted, and which, to please a vitiated taste, is mawkishly lukewarm.

On the younger part of the population of Belfast, rests now the opportunity to retrieve the character of the town. Let them be cool, but

energetic. In their attention to politics we ask them not to withdraw their attention from a necessary and close application to business, but only to employ their leisure in the cause of promoting the public welfare, for such is a system of politics well understood, and conducted on rational principles, and respecting which it is criminal in a citizen of a free state to be indifferent. In no respect is a right bent of mind shown more clearly than in the employment of leisure hours. Let our young men, instead of frivolously mispending the hours not needful to business, give them up to the good of the public. By a due regulation of time, man can accomplish much good. Hours profitably spent would redound to present advantage, and store the mind for still stronger exertions in mature years. Patriotism is out of fashion, and pursuits much less reconcileable to exactness in business are followed, and countenanced by those who declare that attention to the public welfare is inconsistent with private interest. Young patriots will have many difficulties to encounter, but steadiness and perseverance confer strength, and put to silence frivolous objectors.

One cause of the decay of public spirit, is an unceasing bustle, or appearance of bustle, in business, while some are afraid to be seen engaged in any public-spirited undertaking, lest their seniors should accuse them of want of attention to business, and their interests might in consequence suffer from the unfavourable opinion entertained of them by the commercial aristocracy. In this point of view bankers who stand at the head of this class do great injury to the cause of freedom. Some enter not themselves, and they also prevent others who are willing from entering.

On the 11th inst., the conference announced in our last number between the Managers and Visitors of the Belfast Academical Institution, and a Deputation from the General Synod of Ulster, took place in the buildings of the Institution, now fully prepared with large and numerous apartments for the reception of students, and the commencement of a literary establishment, which will be equally useful and honourable to the province of Ulster. Its local situation is in Belfast, but its literary advantages, equally solid and splendid, will gradually, and, we trust, not slowly, be extended through the North of Ireland; and a common interest, well understood, must give it a progressive encouragement. We have no doubt, that in this cordial conference, conducted with the greatest propriety, and to the satisfaction of every individual concerned, a foundation has been laid for educating students of Divinity, under the care of the General Synod of Ulster at home, without their being any longer obliged to resort to a neighbouring country for that purpose. The Deputation, of which the Rev. John Thompson was Moderator, manifested the most friendly zeal for promoting the general objects of the Institution, which indeed was fully evinced by their attendance from very distant parts of the Province, and several of them being at the head of extensive academies.

The joint boards of Managers and Visitors (of which Dr. Drennan was Chairman,) were of opinion, that the General Synod of Ulster could promote the interest of the Belfast Academical Institution, 1st, By paying the same respect to its certificates, of the attendance and progress of the students in learning, as to certificates from foreign Universities. 2dly, By founding a pro-

fessorship of Divinity, Hebrew, and Church History, for which the Institution will afford suitable accommodation in delivering lectures. 3dly, By assisting in raising subscriptions in their different congregations, the product of which shall be solely appropriated to the literary departments. A subscription of 20 guineas entitles the subscribers to be a proprietor and member of the Corporation, and in this way each congregation might incorporate its minister with this literary and liberal Institution.

The Deputation of the Synod, after having consulted apart, presented to the joint Boards, along with a minute of their appointment, a copy of the minute agreed upon in answer to the points first mentioned, the purport of which was a concurrence in sentiment on the part of the deputation, so far, that it will report these particulars to the Synod, with the sanction of their recommendation, and this was all they could be supposed to do, at that time, from the limitation of the powers entrusted to them. In answer to a question from the Boards, what professorships they deem most useful for promoting the studies of students in Divinity, the Deputation stated, that it was not authorised to make a recommendation as a body, but, as individuals, they were unanimously of opinion, that a Professorship of Moral Philosophy, and one of Logic and Metaphysics, would be most eligible for that purpose. The Deputation also deemed it candid to state, through their Moderator, that by the regulations of the General Synod, it was made necessary for the students in Divinity to obtain the degree of Master of Arts, which, in the Scotch Universities, required an attendance of three years, while a fourth was more particularly appropriated to the studies of the Di-

vinity class; but it was not to be implied, that this was a fundamental law of Synod, but might either be qualified or repealed as such a change of circumstances might occur, which would, with equal certainty, lead to the advancement of literature, and the satisfactory qualifications in the instructors of religion.

After the deputation had withdrawn, it was unanimously resolved, that the thanks of the Joint Boards of the Managers and Visitors of the Belfast Academical Institution are justly due, and are hereby given, to the Reverend the Synod of Ulster, for the highly respectable deputation appointed by them to meet the joint boards on this day; also to the gentlemen composing the deputation, for their kindness in attending this meeting, and their readiness in agreeing to recommend to the Synod the propositions of the joint Boards on the subject of the conference. It was also resolved, unanimously, that the gentlemen of the deputation from the Synod of Ulster be requested to recommend to their respective Presbyteries, to hold some of their meetings of Synod in Belfast, which will enable the Belfast Academical Institution to become better acquainted with that Reverend Body, and will tend to reciprocal benefit.

The Deputation of the Synod, and the Joint Boards, after the business of the day was thus settled to mutual satisfaction, parted to meet again, at six in the evening, with a very numerous company, members and friends of the Institution, who sat down to an excellent dinner, laid out in one of the halls of the Institution. It was conducted with the greatest regularity, accompanied with the harmony of the Irish heart, with the good wishes of every lover of literature, and it was crowned with the toasts most appropriated to

the purposes, the prospects, and the patrons of a seminary of learning. Dr. S. M. Stephenson presided in the Chair, and on giving, as the first toast, "Our respected guests, the Deputation from the General Synod of Ulster," the Rev. John Thompson rose, and addressed the meeting with a dignity and propriety well suited to the office of Moderator, returning the meeting, in a short appropriate speech, the thanks of the Deputation, for the marked attention paid to them. The Rev. Samuel Hanna addressed the meeting also on behalf of the Synod of Ulster, as did the Rev. John Nicholson, on behalf of the Anti-Burgher Associate Synod of Ireland *. The Rev. Dr. Neilson, of

* We think it proper to remark, that although the Prospectus of the Academical Institution takes no notice of the religious part of Education, it is the intention of the Institute to admit Professors of Divinity, and to afford them suitable accommodation, on an application from any ecclesiastical body. The Lectureships intended to be filled up by the *Institution itself*, are on Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Metaphysics, and Belles Lettres, Moral Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, and Agriculture; in all, six Chairs.

Cookstown, 7th July, 1813. 10 o'clock, A.M.
Extract from the Minutes of the Anti-Burgher Associate Synod of Ireland, met at Cookstown, on the day, and at the hour, abovementioned.

"Received, and read, a Letter from the Managers and Visitors of the Belfast Academical Institution, to the Moderator of this Synod, giving an account of their design of establishing a Seminary of Education, upon an extensive and liberal plan. Also, read a paper, entitled, *A Statement of the Origin and Proceedings of the Belfast Academical Institution*, until the year 1809. At the same time, a copy of the Prospectus of the Institution, and a copy of the Act of Parliament, which makes the Institution a Corporate Body, and the Bye-Laws which regulate their proceedings, were delivered into the hands of the Clerk, to be held *in reh'bus*, for the use of this Synod, on any future occasion.

Dundalk, made a short energetic address on the part of the Royal

The Synod heartily and unanimously approved of the design and plan of the Institution, and appointed the following members of Synod, viz. The Reverend Messrs. John Nicholson, Belfast; David Moore, Markethill; and William Wilson, Newtownlimavady, as a Committee, to prepare a letter of thanks to the Managers and Visitors of the Belfast Academical Institution, and to declare what patronage we can give."

* TO THE MANAGERS AND VISITORS OF
THE BELFAST ACADEMICAL INSTITU-
TION.

"Gentlemen,

"We received your polite communication, signed by your Chairman, Mr. Robert Teunent, and sent to us by the Rev. Mr. Nicholson, a member of our Synod. We cordially approve of your design of establishing a Seminary of learning in the North of Ireland, and thank you for communicating your intention to us. The munificence which you, the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all the subscribers to this Institution, have evinced, and the liberality with which students of all religious denominations are invited to participate in the advantages to be derived from it, entitle you not only to *our* gratitude, but also to the esteem and patronage of the community at large, and especially of all lovers of science, in this part of the United Kingdom. The patronage which we can give, is very inconsiderable, and can have little influence; but all the support and countenance which we can give, we are willing to afford. At any future time, when Professorships shall be established, we will consider of the propriety of recommending it to our students, to attend your seminary, instead of being at the trouble and expense of attending more distant seminaries of learning. And if any of our community, whether ministers or people, can promote the interests of your Institution, by contributing to its support, we shall encourage their liberality. With ardent wishes for the success of your benevolent and useful Institution, we remain your decided friends, the Ministers and Elders of the Associate Synod of Ireland.

Signed, by order of Synod,
W.M. MUNNIS, Moderator.

Irish Academy, of which learned Body the Doctor is a member, and Mr. Hugh Magill returned the thanks of his brethren, when the Earl of Fingall, and the Catholics of Ireland were drank, as did Dr. M'Gee, also, for the Presbytery of Antrim, on their health being given.

One of the visitors then took occasion to observe "that he should have been sorry to have seen the tables in that hall covered for the first time with food for the body, were he not convinced that this was done solely for the purpose of preparing them to receive and retain the nobler food of the mind. In any other view, he thought that company would have given a better proof of their good appetite than of their good taste. But certain he was, that on the present occasion, their reverend and much respected guests, who are accustomed to divide the bread of life among the community, are on this spot, uniting zealously with the directors of the Academical Institution, in providing for the next best blessing of human existence, the distribution of useful knowledge and liberal instruction among the rising generation of all ranks and of all religious persuasions. He said, that he had read of a means of discovering springs of water, even in the most unpromising situations, by the efficacy of what is called a divining rod, which, carried along the ground retains its original straightness, but as soon as it comes over the concealed spring, its point bends down, as if to say, there dig and you will find the living water. Were this divining rod in his hand at present, he thought it would certainly bend down on this very spot, in homage to the patriotic intentions of the company, and as a sure signal that here in no long time, if there be proper perseverance, if zeal be united with activity, there will be brought

to the light of day the source of science, there will gush forth the well-spring of liberal literature.

He said, that it had always appeared to him a melancholy reflection that three-fourths of every community, civilized as well as savage, were occupied throughout the whole of their earthly pilgrimage, from hour to hour, from day to day, from year to year, in no other thing than, singly and solely, in contriving means of gaining a mere sustenance, a bare sufficiency to fill the stomach. Melancholy ! that all the powers and faculties of the brain should thus be kept in perpetual and humiliating servitude to the imperative necessities of the belly ! Melancholy, that this magnificent creature, man, with all his apparatus of mind and multiplied capacities of knowledge, should, in nine portions out of ten of the whole mass, be solely occupied in procuring the means of existence without intellectual improvement or mental enjoyment. "Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum—os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus. Sanctius his animal, mentis que capacious altæ." Such is the fiction of poetry, but what, he said, was the melancholy fact ?*

* " Let all the creatures of this earth,
Or hail thy smile, or dread thy frown,"
Nature exclaim'd, when man had birth,
And on his cradle placed her crown.

" This globe be subject to thy tread,
Yon stars to thy command ;
Thine, be the all-contriving head,
And all-performing hand."

So Nature spoke, with voice benign,
When, from her blackest cave,
Bigotry yell'd—" a share is mine,
From cradle to his grave."

The sun of Reason then began
To sink, eclips'd in blood ;
And He alone can rescue man
Who first pronounced him " good."

He had sanguine hopes that the Lancasterian system of popular instruction, would do much to enfranchise and emancipate the human mind among the lower orders of the community. But for the middling and higher orders, such institutions as the present, must be of prime advantage whether in a local or national point of view. Indeed he must say, that in a mercantile point of view, it would ever prove a most profitable speculation, as nothing, he was persuaded would prove a more successful means of drawing both men and money to this place than making it a mart of literature. And he concluded by reminding them of the epitaph in the preface to Gil Blas—"Here lies the soul of Brother Pedro Garcius," which, on being examined more deeply by some sagacious travellers, was found to reveal a large pot, full of gold and silver. He should be content to see a similar inscription on the walls of the Academical Institution.—"Here lies the public spirit of the town of Belfast," if he believed, and he was willing to believe, that posterity upon farther search will be able to find in the interior of the building, a treasure more precious than the purest gold and the finest silver, namely, the means of directing the human understanding to the cultivation of the useful arts and sciences, to the knowledge of our rights, to the performance of our duties, and to the habitual practice of virtue. In short to make in one line the compendium of good education.

*Μήδει μέν, γυναῖς εμεναι, πρεστηγα τε
εργανον.*"

ILIA.D.

" Let there be light." Twas spoke and light
Shot radiant from above ;
O for that word, through mental night
To speak the light of love !

X.

This effusion conceived in haste, and therefore delivered with embarrassment, was received with indulgence, and even with applause. The whole entertainment was conducted with the greatest regularity; the evening was spent in the utmost harmony, and the company separated at an early hour. May its patriotic object be speedily and effectually accomplished by private liberality and public encouragement! The advertisement for masters of the Classical and English School, and for a Lecturer in Natural Philosophy, has, we understand, been answered by an application from several very respectable gentlemen in both kingdoms, whose inquiries respecting the nature and duties of their offices, and the remuneration to be expected in salaries, fees, &c., are, we also understand, to be answered, and forwarded as soon as possible to the gentlemen who have applied for information on the subject.

In the school of arms, continued discipline, perseverance and attention, as in other schools, never fail to meet with adequate reward, and have given the British a master's degree in the art of war. The battles of Vittoria, and recently of the passes of the Pyrenees have raised both the army of the British and of the Portuguese to high eminence, and have made it manifest that however the French may excel in that activity and mobility which is so frequently called for in distant manœuvring, they cannot withstand the shock of the British bayonet, and the personal prowess when man closes with man in mortal combat, as was most usually done before the use of firearms was discovered. The loss of the allied army appears to have been severe, particularly in the large proportion of officers killed and wounded, although even from that circum-

stance, we can collect the gallantry displayed, and the emulation excited among the different divisions of the army. The French suffered most in officers, in their most successful battles at the commencement of the war, but of late, whether from their best and veteran soldiery having been annihilated in the last campaign against Russia, and the comparative superiority in experience, as well as discipline, which the British have at length attained to on the Peninsula, or from the select men and petty officers of the French armies having been withdrawn to train the newly raised armies in the North, it appears, that the character of the British arms is attaining to a distinguished eminence, equally honourable to the professional science of the General, and the gallantry with which his orders are executed. The chief passes of the mountains have not been regained, and the French armies being beaten under a commander of high character, and acknowledged resources, have less chance than ever of resuming their possession of the Ebro.

A descent from the Pyrenees into the Kingdom of France is said to be indispensable, because, while Soult holds any of the passes, it is impossible for Lord Wellington to learn what reinforcements he receives, what movements he makes, or what projects he forms. Such might be a reasonable purpose of the invasion, but if done with the design of establishment, of conquest, or of raising the standard of counter-revolution on the territory of France, we should think it would resemble the first impetuous and dashing assault of St. Sebastian. The breach into France is not as yet practicable; and the Pyrenees will be the proper place for inscribing, "Here the British arms fought, and conquered the

freedom of the Spanish Peninsula!" lead an army to the Pyrenees, and once again resume the contest for Spain. There is, perhaps, more to be feared from the talents of the French in negociation, and the play of separate interests which they will turn to their own advantage in the Congress, than from their preparations for renewing the campaign.

These Pyrenees shall still remain—
The boundary of France and Spain;
And still, Napoleon! from this hour,
The *Ne plus ultra* of thy pow'r!

The Armistice in the North of Europe is prolonged to the first of September. Under the mediation of Austria, which, at this period, may be said to hold the destiny of Europe in her hands, it is probable that the Congress at Prague will take place; and Britain, however tardily and unwillingly, appears to find herself under the political necessity of sending her representatives to the assembly. The truth seems to be, that exhausted human nature demands repose; and the French Emperor, as well as the allies, requires time, if not to recruit, at least to reform and discipline his newly raised armies. The great Powers of Europe, like the pugilists of the ring, must rest and take a breathing time, before they commence another round of slaughter; yet it is to be hoped, that as the summer season is fast wearing away, the renewal of hostilities may be protracted until the period of fighting be over, and negotiations, in the spirit of peace, may then take place with more leisure, and probability of a mutual good understanding. After the loss of hundreds of thousands of men, and the expenditure of many millions of money, the "*status quo*" is like to prove the basis of negociation.

Is Austria in concert with Napoleon, or in union with the allies, or is she determined to maintain an inflexible neutrality? Powers in her situation generally make the most of it, and it is most likely, that offers of aggrandizing her, in territory, or in maritime possessions, may induce her to lean to the French, in which case, Bonaparte might be free to

lead an army to the Pyrenees, and once again resume the contest for Spain. There is, perhaps, more to be feared from the talents of the French in negociation, and the play of separate interests which they will turn to their own advantage in the Congress, than from their preparations for renewing the campaign. These preparations will indeed be of the most formidable, and, according to their own term, of the most *imposing* kind, in order to give their plenipotentiaries a preponderance in negotiacion. Britain is pressed against her will into the Congress; and if peace be effected, the result will probably be, in regard to the Peninsula, that both armies will be obliged to withdraw, and Spain will be left to the government of her own Cortez legitimately constituted, and to the monarch which such a representative of the nation may make choice of. It is only by a continuance of the *general* war that Great Britain can ever retain possession of the Peninsula; and if Austria can mediate successfully between the contending powers in the North of Europe, it is scarcely to be supposed that Lord Wellington in the South will be able to withstand the mass of French force, that, thus disengaged, will be ready to pour down upon him.

It is then the *apparent* interest of Great Britain, by every means in her power, to maintain the continental war; to prevent, if she can, the meeting of the Congress; and if she cannot, to embroil it, and break it up. But how often, by nations as well as individuals, is their apparent mistaken for their real interest. Whatever may be the result with regard to Spain, the real and permanent interests of these kingdoms require a speedy and persisting peace, were it only for the single purpose of giving a new and nobler

turn of mind to the highest personages, and to the manners of the great, than is manifested in the prevailing military mania, which descends by influence and example through every class of the people, and makes these islands depend more on the fluctuating politics of the continent, than on their inherent virtue, and native independence. British citizenship is rapidly assimilating with continental manners, and the rising generation is formed and fashioned into all the feelings and political knowledge of the soldier. Will not then the British constitution itself soon take a military cast and character, in its summary command and in its passive obedience, and when the manners of the public are wholly changed, will not the nature of their government change along with them? The history of the constitution will shew how much it has been indebted to the insularity of the country; but our military connections with the continent will soon discipline this same country into the duties of the camp, rather than into the rights and privileges of a free government.

It is not in the adolescence of those Islands, captivated, as it is, by the false and fleeting fame of military exploits, and trained up in military manners and principles, it is not here we shall, on a future occasion, meet with men anxious to sustain the sacred duties of free citizens, and to reform the British constitution. The constitution itself bids fair to be Germanized, and the inextricable connexion with the continent will subdue the public spirit of the Islands. It is in consequence of a love of money in the upper classes, and of idleness and want of employment in the lowest, that we have soldiers to serve the nation, and representatives to sell it. We regard our private gains, more, beyond comparison more, than the

restoration of our liberties; and we are infinitely more afraid of becoming poor than of being enslaved. Thus the constitution is endangered and neglected between the selfish lukewarmness of a commercial aristocracy, which, since the establishment of a paper circulation, hangs by innumerable links on the existing minister, and the spreading ardour for the military profession, which estranges the mind from the habitudes and principles of a pure civism, the crown and true glory of the national character. Convinced we are, that Britain would, at this day, have been in an infinitely more safe and more glorious situation, by excluding herself under a strict quarantine, from the contagion of continental politics, since the period of the French Revolution. By this means she not only had repressed more effectually that French ambition which has always been aggrandized by the resistance of repeated coalitions, but might have preserved herself in her proper situation as the arbitress of Europe, and pacificator of the world. At first an auxiliary, and at last a principal, the coalitions she has laboured to create, always fall asunder, and then treat for themselves without any reference to their compact, until she be left singly to carry on a war now degenerating into personal animosity, and spleen against an individual, rather than protracted on generous and general motives, either of defence or aggression.

Parliament was prorogued on the 22d ult. The war is the predominant topic of the speech from the throne, and the wisdom of that policy which has induced the legislature, under every vicissitude of fortune, to persevere in the contest, the object of which is to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy. No prospect of negotiation is held

out, although we have since known that a plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain has been sent to the Congress; the most cordial union and concert is declared to subsist between the confederate powers; and although a desire be expressed to re-establish friendly relations with America, there is not to be made any sacrifice of the maritime rights of the British Empire. On that important point of domestic policy, the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, the speech from the throne is, we would venture to say constitutionally silent, but the Speaker, who above all men ought to be free from party bias, addressed the Sovereign on the subject of a Bill *not passed* in the House, and entered into the supposed motives which actuated the House in rejecting it by a majority of four, after having previously decided upon taking the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects into consideration. "We have not consented," said Mr. Abbot, "to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction (which in temporal affairs the Catholics have in the most solemn manner abjured,) should be allowed to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm." The *we*, of which Mr. Abbot speaks, consist of himself and three others who rejected by this small majority the first clause of a Bill which was then withdrawn, and this gentleman, if not promoted in the interval of the session to the House of Lords, will look rather awkward if the next time he thinks proper to address the throne, he will have to notice a Bill passed for Catholic emancipation.

In the mean time, the Catholics, reconciling perfect obedience to the laws, with steady perseverance in the pursuit of their rightful claims upon the justice of the Legislature, are agreeing, throughout the different counties, to a new petition to

Parliament on their next session, No difficulties discourage them. No danger appals them. No disappointment turns them aside from their destined course. If man be sometimes likened to lower animals, we should chuse to compare the Catholic body to the patient and persevering *Camel*, proceeding through the desert by regular stages to the end of its journey, regardless of the roar of the Lion, the growl of the Tiger, and the hiss of the Serpent, in spite of the Dog-star raging above, and the sands that burn below. We doubt not, that such untired contancy, and inflexibility of purpose, will be adequately rewarded; and, by the dispensations of a kind Providence, the happy Arabia will terminate their long journey through the wilderness.

The Chief-Governor of Ireland is changed with regard to name, but the nature of the Government most probably will continue the same as it has done. The Duke of Richmond goes, pretty well loaded with the bounties, if not the blessings of the people; and Lord Whitworth comes, of whom we know little, but that he was, at the renewal of the war, pretty soundly rated by Bonaparte, and that he is the husband of the Duchess of Dorset. Whether the Lady or the Gentlemen be to give the *ton* or *ton* to the Irish Government, will be shortly discovered; a Government that has, of late years, appertained more to the Castle than to the Country. And indeed we should like to see the much used term "*Castle*" wholly abolished in our state vocabulary, as it disagreeably reminds the public of a military rule, rather than a civil subordination. Perhaps, however, there is no objection to this very interpretation. Military tendencies, military glory, military devotion, are the chief good, and the grand

occupation. The Chief-Governor of Ireland, after so many years residence, retires from public life without any memorial, even by his subscription to the permanent monument which the Grand Juries of the country are so busied in preparing for Marshal Wellington. The Phœnix, in the Park, remains to remind us of Lord Chesterfield's popularity and public spirit, but in the catalogue of Lord Lieutenants and General Governors since his time, we see not one who has entitled himself even to the glory of such a paltry obelisk. The Phœnix has no heir. If we remember right, the Hon. Augustus North, when Governor of Ceylon, introduced with zeal and success the practice of Vaccination through that island, and in doing so, did much to illustrate his administration to the latest posterity. Such a benefaction to mankind might well be engraved on a monument of marble; but on what are we to inscribe the civil or military merits of his Grace the Duke of Richmond? In sand or in water?

The armistice is said to be broken.

*Account of the Belfast Town Meeting; extract ed from the Dublin Evening Post.**

A Meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town having been called by the Sovereign, THOMAS VERNER, Esq. this day three weeks, and from that adjourned to the 18th inst. for the purpose of taking into consideration the causes of the disgraceful Riots which occurred on the 12th of July last, a large and very respectable number of the Inhabitants met at the Exchange, at one o'clock, the hour appointed for the Meeting. At half past one the Sovereign appeared under the Piazzas, accompanied by the Reverend Edward May. The Meeting appearing to be very numerous,

* It reflects no credit on our newspaper press, that the best account of this business appeared in a distant paper. The account in one of our papers was most shamefully deficient; that of the Chronicle was much better.

Mr. J. S. FERGUSON addressed the Sovereign, and represented to him the possible danger of the people pressing up stairs to the room, where it appeared to be the intention of the Sovereign the Meeting should be held, and suggested the propriety of adjourning to the Brown Linen Hall. He was asked by the Sovereign if that was the desire of the persons who signed the Requisition, who being answered in the affirmative, and, appearing to consult with Mr. May, said he did not consider it was necessary, as, from the complexion of the Assembly present, he did not conceive that an adjournment of the former Meeting, for that the present Assembly was a collection of persons brought there by the publication of an anonymous Paper* that morning, that he did not consider it a legal Meeting, nor could any business be transacted with coolness or propriety by an Assembly composed of such a Mob.

Mr. GETTY said, that he conceived a Mob to be composed of a very different kind of persons from the present Meeting; that no assemblage of persons could, with propriety, be denominated a Mob, until the Riot Act had been read, and they had contumaciously declined to disperse on the order of the Civil Magistrate. For his part, he did not know of the circulation of the Paper in question, nor could he conceive the present meeting of that mobbish nature alluded to by the Sovereign.

Mr. MAY said, he conceived the present Meeting highly illegal, and composed of the lowest order in society, who were assembled by the circulation of a Paper both illegal and improper; that the persons who were concerned in it were responsible for any irregularity that might take place, and punishable for the same; that persons taking such underhand methods, were the cause of exciting violent feelings, and raising party spirit among the people—that such persons rendered themselves liable to punishment, and earnestly wished that if any persons were present who were concerned in the Publication, they would avow themselves.

* TOWN MEETING.—You are requested to take Notice, that the adjourned Meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town takes place this Day, at One o'Clock, at the Exchange Rooms.—Belfast, 18th August, 1813.

Mr. ROBERT GRIMSHAW said, he neither conceived the paper alluded to, illegal or improper, the *Editor of a Public Print* having refused to insert in his Paper, a Notice, calling the attention of the Inhabitants to the Meeting, unless it came from the Sovereign, and the Sovereign having neglected to give such notice, publication by Hand-bill was the only method left for the persons signing the Requisition to resort to—that the Paper itself could not with propriety be called illegal, as it only went to put the Inhabitants in mind of the Adjournment of the Meeting called by the Sovereign himself, and adjourned under his sanction—that he knew the person concerned in the Publication, and that he was ready to come forward, when properly called upon, either by a Magistrate or a Court of Justice—that no weight, therefore, should be attached to that circumstance, as he was perfectly convinced there was neither illegality nor impropriety in the Publication.

Mr. MAY violently contended it was *improper*.

The SOVEREIGN then read the Requisition for calling the original Meeting, which, he stated, had been held pursuant thereto, and had been adjourned to this day—that, subsequent to former Meeting, two Magistrates, who had signed the Requisition, had desired him to withdraw their names from it—that, at that Meeting, he had declared his disapprobation of the Meeting as premature and unnecessary, and had deprecated all discussion on the subject—that he continued of the same opinion, and wished to avoid discussion, as the business to be taken into consideration had already undergone an investigation by persons who were much more competent to decide on the circumstances than any Meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town. Two respectable Juries had decided on the case, and the persons guilty of the crimes had been sentenced to severe punishment, and those who were found innocent were acquitted. The Learned Judge on the Bench, had, on passing sentence on these persons found guilty of the riot, told them that to their attack on *peaceable* and *innocuous* men, might be attributed the unhappy consequences which had ensued; at the same time recommended to them quiet and peaceable behaviour as in proportion to their peaceable demeanor, would the peace of the County of Antrim be preserved. From all those circumstances,

the Sovereign conceived the present Meeting to be unnecessary, and any further discussion on the subject improper; that he considered it his duty to dissolve the Meeting, and accordingly did then declare it dissolved.

Mr. MAY said, he was confident that no person would be hardy enough to go in opposition to the sentiments of the Judge on the Bench, who had declared the Law of the Land on the subject.

Doctor TENNENT addressed the Sovereign with the intention of remonstrating against dissolving the Meeting, and said, that he did not conceive that the opinion of the Judge delivered on that occasion was sufficient to govern the deliberations of the present Meeting, it being legally convened.

Mr. May then used some contemptuous expressions respecting the opinions of the Doctor, and those of a Gentleman not present—and on the Doctor cautioning him how he spoke of the person absent, he was desired, in a most furious manner by Mr. May, to be silent, and to stand off him, or he would *send him to the Black Hole*. The Doctor mildly replied, "No, surely you will not do that;" when, after about half a minute's hesitation, Mr. May violently rushed forward and seized him by the throat, ordering some persons near him, seemingly brought there for the purpose, to *drag him to the Black Hole*; which, to the astonishment of all present, was literally complied with: fortunately, however, no resistance was made, nor was there any violence committed, except by some of those who appeared zealous on the part of Mr. May, who made a few strokes at persons who were not concerned, apparently with the intention of raising a riot, which might give sanction to the violence of the proceedings.

Shortly after Dr. Tennent was committed, Mr. May having previously lodged examinations, two Magistrates came forward and insisted on becoming bail for his appearance at the Quarter Sessions; which, after considerable solicitation, the Doctor assented to, and was liberated accordingly.

Such has been the termination of one of the most extraordinary transactions which has ever been witnessed in the Town of Belfast. The Meeting was called, not for the purpose of prejudging the Culprits, or of prejudicing the Public mind against them, as appeared to be ap-

prebended by those who moved the adjournment of the original Meeting. The adjourned Meeting was not held for the purpose of interfering with, or having any reference to the decision of the Court of Law, or the punishment of the Criminals on either side. The intention being by temperate discussion, and mature deliberation, to endeavour to prevent the recurrence in future of such disgraceful scenes as those exhibited on the 12th ult. when two persons lost their lives, one his limb, and several others severely wounded, both by fire-arms and stones. The Meeting was called at the instance of persons of the highest respectability in the town, by such as could not be suspected of harbouring Party Prejudices, and by men whose earnest and honest desires were, that, by Petition to the Legislature, or other legal means, the peace of the town might in future be preserved, and the safety of the inhabitants insured—that they should not again be annoyed by a lawless Mob throwing stones, or an armed Banditti firing loaded muskets in their streets. But it now appears, that all discussion must be dropped—not another word must be said upon the *tender* point—the punishment of the culprits, for maiming their neighbours with stones, or shooting them with guns, must be a perfect satisfaction for the past, and considered a security for the future. Discussion and deliberation, by such means, may be prevented, and men, by such arbitrary means, be muzzled, the strong arm of the Law may, for a time, be unnerfed. It is to be hoped; that though public discussion has been smothered in Belfast, that it will not be so in the Imperial Parliament, where it must break forth with tenfold force,

The character of the Gentleman who has been so harshly treated, stands high in the estimation of all the *respectable* People in Town; and, to compare him with some others, would be, indeed, “to compare great things with small;” he is a man of the most gentle manners, and of the mildest demeanour—he is alive to every thing which tends to the amelioration of Society, and is a Member of almost every Institution which has either Charity or improvement for its object;

but such men are formidable to those of contrary dispositions, and they are hated for their Virtues, as others are hated for their Crimes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Proprietors of the Belfast Magazine.

THE occurrences in Belfast, of the present and preceding month, possess more than a mere local interest, and will, I confidently expect, lead to LASTING RESULTS. The crimes of firing on an unarmed people, and the wanton and insolent outrages against whatever is venerable and patriotic among us, by the chiefs of an illegal, though cherished faction, are enough to stimulate the most torpid to feeling, and to utterance.

The public voice will not be silenced; though our petty tyrants, “clothed with a little brief authority,” may stifle its expression for a time. No! though liberty of speech, and liberty of the Press, have now scarce a dwelling-place in this province of boasted illumination, and early independence! though the insulted citizens of Belfast cannot find in the whole Newspaper press of Ulster an organ of their just complaint, we must not for this despond. Far from such a feeling, I regard all this as *the forerunner of much good.* Nor can it be delayed; the elasticity of the public mind, after such extreme compression, will now return with a corresponding *impetus*, and resume its native unbiased form.

The conductors of our Newspaper press are degraded and silenced by an Orange influence. But *they do not feel this depression.* *O Te, Belare, cerebit Felicem!* In the prudence of a calculating avarice, let them, however, take this hint, to keep well with their advertising connections, *for the state of the country demands the establishment of an Independent Newspaper, a Newspaper directed to something beyond mercenary views.* This will be one certain and happy result of Orange indiscretion, and Editorial servility. I confidently predict it, for more than Belfast.

AN OLD CORRESPONDENT.